Department of Linguistics. Publication No. 15

TWO LECTURES ON THE HISTORICITY OF LANGUAGE FAMILIES

M. ANDRONOV

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR
1968

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ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
ANNAMALAINAGAR
1968

Department of Linguistics Publication No. 15
Published under UGC grants
First Edition 1968

Printed at
Azhahu Printers, Chidambaram

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FOREWORD

'Two Lectures on the Historicity of Language Families' formed a part of the Lectures, given at the Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University, by Dr. Andronov of Institute of Asian Nations, U.S.S.R. Academy of Science. These lectures were given by Dr. Andronov on 13th and 14th January, 1968 under the presidentship of Dr. S. P. Adinarayan, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Dr. Andronov is well known in the field of Dravidian Linguistics and I am very glad that his lectures are published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

Centre of Advanced Study
in Linguistics
Annamalai University
Annamalainagar
May 12, 1968

S. AGESTHIALINGOM
Director

Preface*

The notion of the genetic relationship of languages has been introduced by comparative linguistics. At first, when language was regarded as a biological organism, the genetic relationship was understood in its literal sense. Later the naturalistic conception of language was discarded, and this expression has got to be used figuratively to denote the common origin of linguistic forms. In the course of time, as suspicion was growing that the Proto-language and the treelike scheme of the development of language families were nothing more than a scholarly construction which probably never had a real correlate in actual history, the notion of the gentic relationship of languages started losing much of its concrete meaning. The situation was aggravated by the discovery of the fact that language is a system. The new approach to the understanding of the nature of language compelled linguists to look at the problem of genetic relationship from a new point of view. Now it had to be treated not in terms of the common origin of isolated linguistic forms but in terms of the common origin of language systems as a whole.

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* I am much indebted to the authorities of the Annamalai University and the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics for having granted me an opportunity to present this paper at a special meeting of linguists in Annamalainagar in January 1968. My thanks are due also to the Publications Department which brought out these lectures in a booklet form.

As the latter include elements of heterogeneous origin, the modern linguistic theory, strictly speaking, rules out the possibility of tracing a language or a group of languages to one parent language. In practice, however, the tradition is followed and linguistic relationship (probably for the simplicity of treatment) is generally reduced to the likeness of a small number of the most stable and conservative elements of the language structure. The latter, however stable they may seem within the limits of time open for investigation, do not differ in principle from the rest of language elements and similarly are liable to erosion and substitution in the course of the evolution of the whole system. In any case the historicity of linguistic relationship is a matter of fact, and one may be expected to raise a question of how language families are formed, develop and disintegrate.

24 February, 1968
Moscow

M. ANDRONOV

I

DRAVIDIAN AND ARYAN: FROM THE TYPOLOGICAL SIMILARITY TO THE SIMILARITY OF FORMS

It is generally accepted at present that Dravidian languages served as a substratum, underlying the Old Indo-Aryan language, when the latter appeared on the Indian soil in the first half of the second millennium B. C., and that the whole course of the subsequent development of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian was largely influenced and predetermined by this circumstance. Their mutual influence on each other, most probably, took shape of bilingualism of a great portion of the mingling peoples.[1] The numerical superiority was, obviously, on the side of the indigenous population, which is testified by the rapid change and complete dissolution of the ethnic type of the newcomers. One can suggest also that in the first period of this contact bilinguals were recruited chiefly from the native population. This is supported by a great number of borrowings from Old Indo-Aryan found in Dravidian with a comparatively insignificant number of borrowings from Dravidian into Old Indo-Aryan.[2] Meanwhile, even in the case of equal proportion of Dravidian-born and Aryan-born bilinguals, the number of Dravidian loan-

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[1]Cf. M. B. Emeneau, Bilingualism and structural bor rowing, PAPS, vol. 106, No. 5, 1962, pp. 430–442.

[2]Cf. T. Burrow, Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, TPS, 1945; T. Burrow, Further Dravidian words in Sanskrit, BSOAS, vol. 12, No. 2, 1948; T. Burrow, The Sanskrit language, London, 1955.

words in Old Indo-Aryan should have been higher, following substantial changes in the world of things, which surrounded Aryans after their advent to India. This suggestion is also favoured by the fact that at the time of the first contacts the Indo-Aryan language was a single whole (although it showed dialect distinctions), whereas the indigenous population spoke various languages, since the Proto-Dravidian unity had disintegrated long before that.[3]

Quite naturally, under such conditions, the Old Indo-Aryan language soon got out of use, and not later than in the VII century B. C.—i.e., at the time when Buddhist preachers began to address popular masses in Pali –it became a dead language (and the appearance of Panini's grammar in the V century B. C. confirms it once again).

It is difficult to say now how long the direct influence of this language contact and the state of mass bilingualism, in particular, continued. In any case, one of the consequences of this mixture was a sharp change in the direction of the development of Indo-Aryan, and new elements, typologically similar or typologically allied to those found in Dravidian, appeared in each of these languages and gradually increased in number. Simultaneously, the number of relationship elements, which connected the Indo-Aryan languages with the rest of Indo-European, gradually diminished. The decisive moment in this process was the Late Middle Indo-Aryan period, a period of transition from the Apabhramsa stage to New Indo-Aryan. The essence of this transition consisted in the fact that the continuity of development of the grammatical

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[3]For details cf. M. Andronov, Lexicostatistic analysis of the chronology of disintegration of Proto-Dravidian IIJ, vol. 7, No. 2-3, 1964, pp. 170-186.

structure, retained by the Indo-Aryan languages before, broke off, and the quantitative accumulation of isolated new structural elements ended in a qualitative change of the whole structure.

Some features of similarity between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have been repeatedly pointed out by various scholars.[4] They have been noted both in the phonology and in the morphology and syntax of all the Indo-Aryan languages. Thus, in phonology such features include the development of retroflex consonants, characteristic of Dravidian, the simplification of consonant clusters in accordance with phonetic laws, similar to those found in Old Dravidian, frequent voicing, spirantization and omission of single intervocalic stops, which is also characteristic of Old Dravidian. In morphology this is, first of all, a shift from inflection to agglutination in the word-changing. So, if Old Indo-Aryan, like other Old Indo-European languages, has various types of nouns with special sets of terminations in each gender and number, in New Indo-Aryan there prevails a one-type declension with the same terminations in singular and plural. This is generally true of the verb system too, in which the conjugation has got simplified. It is possible to point out further similarities with Dravidian in suffixation types of the word-building, in the wide development of imitative words and echo-words, in modes of expression of the passive meaning and comparison, and in many other cases of partial coincidence. As for the syntax of New Indo-Aryan, here the coin-

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[4]Cf., e.g., S. K. Chatterji, The origin and development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 170–178; J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryan du Vèda aux temps modernes, Paris, 1934, pp. 321–331; M. B. Emeneau, India as a linguistic area, Lg, vol. 32, No. 1, 1956, pp. 3–16.

cidence with the Dravidian norms is almost complete. As S. K. Chatterji notes, "it is in syntax that Indian Dravidiandom and Aryandom are one. A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada becomes ordinary good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word order, but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or English sentence in a NIA language."[5] The wide spread of postpositions and absolute verbal constructions, of the so-called participial chains and compound verbs, the characteristic word order and other similar traits bring the New Indo-Aryan languages close to Dravidian, setting them off, simultaneously, against any other of the Indo-European languages.

The Dravidian languages, in their turn, have experienced a clearly expressed influence on the part of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is true that the innovations in their phonetic and grammatical systems seem not to be as deep and self-evident as it is with respect to Indo-Aryan. Besides that, it should be kept in mind that by the moment of the first contact with the Indo-Aryan adstratum the Dravidian languages had already diverged to a considerable extent, and the Indo-Aryan influence affected each of them individually. Therefore, typological similarities could appear in some of the languages, or even in one of them, and could not appear in other languages. Although this problem has never been studied or even raised before in connection with the phonology and grammar of the Dravidian languages as a whole, still it is possible to point out here some traits of undoubted typologi-

[5]S. K. Chatterji, The origin and development of the Bengali language, § 82.

cal similarity. Among such features in phonology should be mentioned the loss of short *e* and *o* in Brahui, which, as is known, can be met with just in Indo–Aryan,[6] the development of nasal vowels and diphthongs of the Indo-Aryan type in Brahui, Kurukh and serveral other languages, the development of aspirates in some of the modern Dravidian languages. A convincing example of this kind is presented by the gradual deviation from originally strict laws of combination of sounds in all the modern Dravidian languages without exception. (A special investigation will be necessary, of course, in order to determine how far in this direction each language has moved.)

A characteristic feature in the morphology is the gradual loss of many synthetic negative forms of the verb in some of the modern Dravidian languages and the substitution of special negative words of the Indo-Aryan type in their place with the following shift to an analytical mode of expressing negation, similar to that of Indo-Aryan, by means of combining positive verbal forms with negative verbs. Considerable changes have taken place in the system of nominal parts of speech, too. Personal nouns, a typical Dravidian part of speech, frequently met with in old texts, now got out of use in many languages. On the other hand, all of them, probably except Kurukh and several other, have developed adjectives, originally not known in the old Dravidian languages but essential for the Indo-Aryan nominal system. The same seems to be true of adverbs.

In syntax a new Dravidian feature, typologically similar to the Indo-Aryan structure, is the gradual development of

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[6]For Iranian parallels cf. M. B. Emeneau, Brahui and Dravidian comparative grammar, Berkeley, 1962, pp. 7-8.

compound and complex sentences, alien to Old Dravidian (with an exception of sentences with direct speech).

It is in the vocabulary that the Indo–Aryan influence on the Dravidian languages can be seen most clearly. Here the percentage of words borrowed from the Indo-Aryan sources reaches in certain languages seventy and even more. Especially high the rate of such loanwords stands in minor non-literate languages of Central India and also in the languages of the North, i.e., in Kurukh, Malto and Brahui. But even in such great literary languages as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam the number of nominal borrowings in some texts is not much lower. As M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow note, "there is a tendency for all four of the Dravidian literary languages of the south to make literary use of the total Sanskrit lexicon indiscriminately".[7]

The mutual penetration of grammatical structures, some elements of which have been pointed to above, gradually resulted in the fact that both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian in their structural and lexico-semantic aspects noticeably drew together and it is possible to assert, they drew to each other even nearer than each of them was to its respective parent. Thus colloquial Telugu, as far as these two aspects are concerned, has more in common with its Aryan neighbours, Oriya and Bengali, than, let us say, with old Tamil. On their side, the both Indo-Aryan languages are closer in their structures to Telugu, Kannada and other Dravidian languages, than to Sanskrit. This is more or less true of each pair of modern Indian languages.

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[7]M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow, Dravidian borrowings from Indo–Aryan, Berkeley, 1962, pp. 1.

The problem of the causes and ways of such development of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is, as it seems to me, a cardinal problem of paramount importance for Indian linguistics. Its significance for the general linguistic theory can hardly be overestimated. It is connected with every principal problem of linguistics, such as the concept of linguistic relationship, its essence and origin, or the problem of the origin and development of language families and their interrelations. The correct answer to these questions would be of principal practical importance for the successful solution of the complicated (and sometimes intentionally entangled) linguistic problem of India.

Unfortunately, until now linguistics, chiefly comparative, had little to do with this problem. It did not go beyond the casual and unsystematic mention of isolated elements of similarity in the languages of India and could not offer any theory, except the substratum theory, which little explained and justly received from L. Bloomfield an epithet of a "mystic" one.[8] The theory of "language unions", which principally differs little from the substratum theory, also explains nothing here. It cannot be otherwise, however: the comparative philology is engaged in studying those elements of language, which have been inherited from its earlier stage, and cannot say anything definite regarding those elements, which have penetrated into it from the outside.

It is the typological approach to the linguistic analysis which may be expected to turn out more fruitful in this case. First of all, it will enable us to determine more exactly the notion of linguistic relationship and those elements of which

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[8] L. Bloomfield, Language, London, 1955, p. 386.

it is formed. Thus, for instance, the postposition *kō*, which serves to express the object meaning in Hindi, is traced, as far as its material is concerned, to a certain Old Indo-Aryan word and can be regarded in this sense as an element of relationship between Hindi and other Indo-European languages (there are offered three or four etymologies). Here it must be kept in mind, however, that this relationship is of the lexical and not of the morphological level, whereas it is the latter that plays the decisive part in determining language relationship. On the other hand, the postposition *kō* or any other, as a structural element of the morphological level, is alien to the Indo-European languages and, as an element of the morphological structure, is typologically allied with Dravidian. A special calculation will be necessary in order to determine exactly the percentage of modern Indo-Aryan word-changing suffixes which have reliable Indo-European etymologies on the morphological level. But even now it is possible to presume from what is known at present that it will probably turn out considerably lower than that found in other branches of the Indo-European family.

In this connection it will not be unexpected that in the structural and typological respects, too, the Indo-Aryan languages occupy a special position among other Indo-Eropean languages. Thus, establishing six obligatory features of an Indo-European language N. S. Trubetzkoy marks, among others, that "there is no Indo-European language without prefixes" and that "in the modern Indo-European languages the number of such prefixes increases considerably".[9] Since it is known that the absence of prefixation forms one of the

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[9] N. S. Trubetzkoy, Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem, AL, vol. 1, 1939, S. 84.

distinguishing characteristics of modern Indo-Aryan, a question arises as to how Trubetzkoy's assertion that "a language, which does not possess all the above-mentioned characteristics, cannot be regarded Indo-European"[10] should be understood. References to Bangali, Sindhi, New Indo-Aryan as a whole, etc., which are met with in Trubetzkoy's works,[11] leaves no room for questioning whether he was acquainted with the New Indo-Aryan languages or not.[12]

To my conviction, it will be more appropriate to ask here whether the language relationship can develop in such a way that one language or several languages belong to a certain linguistic family, whereas their descendants do not belong to it, lose their ties of relationship with it. If the number of relationship elements, which connect a certain language or a group of languages with a whole family, does not remain constant and can vary, e.g. can diminish as in our case, there must be such a border-line beyond which this relationship becomes very distant and even ceases to be felt at all. If a language or a group of languages can absorb elements, originaly foreign to them and related to another group of languages and if the number of such elements, now common to the both groups of languages, can gradually increase, there must be such a border-line beyond which these new common elements begin to prevail in these languages and to determine their relationship.

The known history of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages proves that their structural elements have been

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[10] ibidem, S. 85.

[11] Cf., e.g., N. S. Trubetzkoy, Grundzüge der Phonologie, Göttingen, 1958.

[12] M. B. Emeneau, India as a linguistic area, p. 8.

developing just in this direction. Moreover, the Indo-Aryan word-changing suffixes show an explicit tendency towards losing their formal similarity with the respective Indo-European terminations. Now it is left to find out whether it is possible in principle for the word-changing suffixes of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian to develop new formal similarity.

Some elements of such similarity have been noted long ago. In the absence of a better explanation, they have been usually treated as mere borrowings from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan and vice versa. Thus e.g., B. Mazumdar regards as borrowings from Dravidian the objective case suffixes *ku*, *-kē* in Oriya and Bengali[13] (cf. similar suffixes *-ku,-ke* in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Tulu and Telugu) or the void of reliable parallels in other Indo-Aryan plural suffixes *-rā*, *-gulō/-guli* in Bengali[14] (cf. similar suffixes *-r,-gaḻ,/-guḻ* in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Kota, etc.). Similarly, J. Bloch belives that the infinitive suffix *-nā̃* in Gondi and Kurukh "is undoubtedly borrowed from Hindi" and that another suffix of the Gondi infinitive *-le* is borrowed from Eastern Marathi.[15] It is possible to add here the future tense suffix *-b-* (from *-v-*) in the eastern group of Indo-Aryan, a few finite forms of the Marathi verb, etc.

Any possibility of the direct borrowing of word-changing suffixes seems improbable, whether they have good etymologies or not. At the same time, certain aspects of their such

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[13]B. Mazumdar, History of the Bengali language, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 73–74.

[14]Ibidem, pp. 87–88. Cf. also Mazumdar's examples of the plural suffix *-gal* in Pali.

[15]J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes, Paris, 1946, pp. 62–63.

similarity cannot be accounted for by mere casual coincidence. Thus, it is striking, e.g., that the Bengali plural suffix *-rā* is met with only in nouns, denoting human beings, whereas *-gulo/-guli*-in nouns, denoting animals, inanimate things and abstract notions. In other words, these suffixes are distributed in Bengali in the same way as the analogous *-r,-gaḷ/-guḷ* are in Dravidian, that is the usual Indo-European opposition of animate and inanimate nouns is substituted in this case by the Dravidian opposition of nouns, denoting human beings, to all other nouns. But as A. Meillet says, "the more peculiar phenomena coincide in two languages the more demonstrative the coincidence itself is. Therefore 'exceptions' are most helpful in determining the common language".[16]

It seems that an explanation of such cases of the newly formed similarity of originally unrelated languages should be sought, as in the case of their structural and typological similarity, in the bilingualism of people speaking these languages. A striking example of how the formal similarity of originally unrelated languages can arise under these conditions is presented by a Hindustani dialect spoken by the Muslims of Tamilnad. As it is mentioned above, the standard dialect of Hindi has a postposition *kō*, denoting an object and etymologically traced to a Prakrit source. At the same time, an equivalent Tamil suffix has the form of *-ku* and is purely Dravidian in origin. The bilingualism of Tamil Muslims, coupled with the typological similarity of the both languages and with the formal likeness of the two morphemes, results in the fact that in their dialect of Hindustani the above-mentioned postposition is used in the form of *ku*; cf., e.g.,

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[16] A. Meillet, La methode comparative en linguistique historique, Oslo, 1925, III.

mujh ku (instead of *mujh kō*) 'to me', *ham ku* (instead of *ham kō*) 'to us', *usku* (instead of *us kō*) 'to him', etc.[17] Now the question is whether this morpheme is borrowed from Dravidian or it must be regarded as Indo-Aryan and eventually traced to an Indo-European root? Neither of these assumptions can be proved convincingly. Isn't it more correct to admit that this morpheme has inherited something from Hindi and something from Tamil, but it is already neither fully Indo-Aryan nor fully Dravidian? Isn't it an element of new relationship ties, which once will bind up these languages in new family?

The facts of the history of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages at our disposal indicate that the number of elements, typologically similar for the both groups, is steadily growing and that the number of such elements, binding Indo-Aryan with Indo-European and modern Dravidian with old Dravidian, is gradually diminishing. It is the bilingualism of people, speaking these languages, and their mutual efforts to make their speech more intelligible to each other[18] that should be regarded as the main cause and form of such development. In the course of some three thousand years of coexistence on the Indian soil these linguistic groups have reached such a stage in their development when, by the typological characteristics of their grammatical structure and by their common vocabulary, they have formed a definite unity, which differs by common features both from the Indo-European languages of Europe and the old Dravidian languages.

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[17] Md. Yousuf Kokan, Influence of Tamil on spoken Urdu in Tamil Nad, SPV, 1961, p. 153.

[18] L. Bloomfield, Language, p. 473.

The formal correspondence of word-changing affixes, which forms the basis of the genetic ciassification, ceased to be clearly expressed in the Indo-Aryan languages at their New Indo-Aryan stage. There arose forms void of convincing Indo-European etymologies and similar, not only typologically but also in form, to corresponding forms of the Dravidian languages. Similar innovations are to be found in the modern Dravidian languages too.

This makes one believe that the so-called 'genetic' relationship of languages within one family, a remnant of naturalistic conceptions of language, is not primordial and perpetual. It is historic in its nature : it is formed gradually and gradually can it weaken and disappear. In this sense the development of the typological similarity of the modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages can be regarded as a prerequisite or an initial stage in the formation of a new linguistic family. If the direction of their development does not change in future, the now observed tendency to develop the formal similarity may gain strength and result in the formation of new relationship ties and of a new language family, which will be neither Indo-European, nor Dravidian.

II

DRAVIDIAN AND URALIAN : A PEEP INTO THE PRE-HISTORY OF LANGUAGE FAMILIES

It is accepted at present that Dravidians are not aboriginals of India but have come to this country from somewhere outside. In this connection historians and linguists make efforts in order to determine ancient ethnic and linguistic ties or even relationship between the Dravidian and other peoples. So far there have been suggested theories of connection of Proto-Dravidian India with a good number of peoples and languages, such as Indo-European,[1] Sumerian,[2] Korean,[3] African,[4]

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1. Gnana Prakasar S., Linguistic evidences for the common origin of the Dravidians and Indo-Europeans, TC, vol. 2, 1953; Swaminatha Aiyar R., The Aryan affinities of Dravidian pronouns, OC, 1924.

2. Sathasivam A., Sumerian-a Dravidian language, Berkely, 1965 (mimeographed); Vaidyanatha Aiyar R.S., The Sumero-Dravidian and Hittite-Aryan origins, QJMS, vol. 19, 1919.

3. Hulbert H. B., A Comparative grammar of the Korean language and the Dravidian family of languages, Seoul, 1906.

4. Homburger L., L' Inde et l' Egipte, JA, t. 243, 1955; Homburger L., Les dravidiens et l' Afrique, ICL, 1958; Homburger L., Le telougou (dravidien) et les dialects mandes d' Afrique occidentale, JSA, t. 21, 1951, Mayer T., Drawidische Nominal-Suffixe und ihre afrikanischen Parallelen, BA, Bd. 1, 1924; Tuttle E., Dravidian and Nubian, JAOS, vol. 52, 1932.

Ancient mediterranean,[5] Altaic,[6] and finally Uralian.[7]

Among all these suggestions and hypotheses the greatest attention is deserved by a theory of some prehistoric ties or even remote relationship of the Dravidian languages with those of the Uralian stock, a theory which is based on

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5. Brown G., The possibility of connetion between Mitanni and the Dravidian languages, JAOS, vol. 50, 1930; Chatterji S. K., Languages and linguistic problem, Calcutta, 1945; Chatterji S. K., Dravidian, Annamalainagar, 1965; Konow S. Etruscan and Dravidian JRAS, 1904; Lahovari N., Apercus nouveaux sur des rapports incoupconnes du basque et das langues dravidiennes, BRABL, t. 21, 1948; Lahovary N., Parente linguistique du basque et du dravidien, RIO, t. 3, 1951; Lahovary N., Concordances toponymiques et du vocabulaire des regions alpines, pyreneennes et montagneuses avec l' Inde dravidienne, CISO, 1963, Lahovary N., Correspondances dans les noms de lieux et les suffixes locatifs entre basque et dravidien, CCPPH, 1962; Lahovary N., Dravidian origins and the West, Bombay, 1963.

6. Meile P., Observations sur quelques caracters communs des langues dravidiennes et des langues, altaiques, ACIO, 1948.

7. Andronov M , New evidence of possible linguistic ties between the Decan and the Urals, SPV, 1961; Andronov M., Dravidian languages, Moscow, 1965; Bloch J , Le dravidian, LM, 1952; Burrow T., Dravidian studies IV (The body in Dravidian and Uralian), BSOAS, vol 12, 1947; Schrader F. O.. Drawidisch und Uralisch, ZII, Bd. 3, 1925; Schrader F. O., On the 'Uralian' element in the Drāviḍa and Muṇḍā languages, BSOAS, vol. 8, 1936; Thyagaraju A. F., Glossarial affinities between Dravidan and Uralian, QJMS, vol. 21, 1930; Tolstov S.P., Ancient Khorezm, Moscow, 1948; Tuttle E., Finnic and Dravidian, New Haven, n. d.; Bouda K., Drawidisch und Uralaltaisch, L, t. 5, 1956: Caldwell R., A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages, London, 1913; Schoebel C., Affinites des langues dravidiennes et des langues ouralo-altaiques, CIO, 1873.

considerable linguistic data. In its initial form this theory was propounded, among others, by R. Caldwell in his 'Comparative Grammar' in 1856. Having pointed out some 90 cases of word coincidence in the both groups of languages, he regarded them as an evidence of relationship between these languages within a greater linguistic unity which included, besides Dravidian and Finno—Ugrian, the languages of the Samoyed, Turkic, Mongolian and some other groups.

In the following decades this theory was neither confirmed by a sufficient number of facts, nor convincingly disproved. As it was supported mainly by lexical parallels, the possibilities for its interpretation proved to be rather wide. Thus, for a long period of time one of the most popular views was that advocated by F. O. Schrader. As he put it, "the historical interrelation between the Dravidian and the Finno-Ugro-Samoyed families should be accounted not for their relationship but for their prehistoric neighbourhood and close one-way or mutual influence".[8] An opposite view is expressed by T. Burrow who seems to be in favour of close genetic relationship of the both families. Having compared seventy-two etymological sets of words used to name parts of the body in the both linguistic families, he points out that "it would not be possible to produce between any two languages the same amount of detailed comparisons as can be made between Dravidian and Uralian without giving reason to believe that those languages were themselves related".[9]

These word parallels look most convincing indeed. But however great their number may be, their establishment can hardly lead to the eventual solution of the problem, unless

8 F. O. Schrader, Drawidisch und Uralisch, S. 83.

9 T. Burrow, Dravidian studies IV, p. 330.

similar amount of common features is discovered in the morphology of these languages, where derivation and particularly inflection elements almost exclude the possibility of borrowing. In this connection the attention of linguists will be drawn to a few cases of formal coincidence in the morphology of Dravidian and Uralian languages, which, as it seems, is not accidental.

Past Tense Suffixes. –Comparative studies in Dravidian prove that three suffixes, viz. **-i-*, **-s-* and **-t-*, are generally used in these languages to express the past tense.[10] They are met with both in finite forms and in participles and verbal participles.

The past tense suffix **-i-* is well preserved in the Southern group of Dravidian; cf., e.g., Ta. *pāṟiṉēṉ* 'I sang' Ma. *pāṟi* 'sang', Tu. *būriye* 'I fell', Ka. *māṟi* 'having done', Te. *kani* 'having seen', Kod. *tapi–* 'to escape' (the past stem), Ko. *tapy-* 'to err' (the past stem), To. *kuby–* 'to shout' (the past stem), etc. In a modified or relic form the suffix **–i–* (frequently accompanied by another suffix of the past tense) can also be traced outside the Southern group; cf., e.g., Go. *vāsītōnā* 'I had come', *guhcī* 'having seized', Pa. *veni* 'having heard', Ga. *Patī* 'having seized', Br. bāris '(it) got dried', Kur, *āny-* 'to say' (the past stem), etc.

The past tense suffix **-s-* (frequently in a modified form), on the contrary, is best preserved outside the Southern group,

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10. "For Proto–Dravidian it is necessary to identify several past tense suffixes......They are *–i–*, a dental stop with several phonologically determined allomorphs, and a sibilant or *c* form" (M. B. Emeneau, Toda–a Dravidian language, TPS, 1957, p. 35).

that is in the languages of the Northern and Central groups; cf., e.g., Br. *bass* 'he came' (from *bar-/bann-*'to come') Kur. *barcas* 'he came', Go. *vaṅksī* 'having said', *guhcī* 'having seized', *tiñji* 'having eaten', Kuvi *tossa* 'having shown', *veca* 'having beaten', *veñja* 'having heard', *ḍikha* 'having broken', Mal. *darc* 'having seized', etc.

The past tense suffix *-t-is well represented in the languages of the Central and Southern groups; cf., e g., Kuvi *hītesi* 'he gave', Kui *vāte* 'I came', Kon. *kita* 'I did', Go. *vātān* 'I came', Pa. *kutted* 'he cut', Nk. *kaktan* 'I did', Kol. *sītan* 'I gave', Tu. *maḷte* 'I did', Kod. *kāte* 'I watched', Ma. *ceyðu* '(I) did', Ta. *paṛittē̱ṉ* 'I read', etc.

At the present stage of studying the Dravidian grammar it is not yet possible to make any definite conclusions regarding the semantic and chronological delimitation of these suffixes at the time of the Proto-Dravidian unity. It seems that the suffix *-*i*-which is traced in the languages of all the groups probably was the most wide-spread and the most archaic. The suffixes *-s-and *-*t*-are likely to have differentiated (at least at the latest stage of the Proto-Dravidian unity) in such a way that the suffix *-s-was used in the parent dialect of the Northen group, whereas the suffix *-*t*- in the parent dialect of the Southern group. In the languages of the Central group, where both *-s- and *-*t*- can be met with, the suffix *-*t*- is the one most regularly used, while the suffix *-*s*- generally is of a relic nature and frequently is not directly connected now with the meaning of the past tense. This makes one believe that the suffix *-*s*- probably is the older of the two, whereas the suffix *-*t*-, which is not to be found in the languages of the Northern group, has developed after the disintegration of Proto-Dravidian and after the

separation of North–Dravidian.[11] This conclusion is indirectly supported by the fact of optional use of the suffix *-*i*– (in its lengthened form -*ii*-) instead of the ordinary *-*t*- in non-finite forms of the Old Tamil verb (cf., e.g., *koḷii* 'having taken' instead of *koṇḍŭ* from *koḷ*- + -*t*- + -*ŭ*, *koḷiiya* instead of *koṇḍa*, etc.), as well as by the fact of frequent omission of the suffix *-*t*- in verbal forms of those languages where it is generally combined with a relic past tense suffix *-*i*–, which in such cases is always retained (cf. Ka. *māṛidenu* 'I did', *māṛida* 'which did', but *māṛi* 'having done', or Te *cēsitini* 'I did', but *cēsi* 'having done', etc.).

As regards Uralian languages, among various suffixes of the past tense used there only two suffixes are attributed to the period of the Proto-Uralian unity. These are the suffixes *–*i*– and *–*s*–.

The suffix *–*i*– is well preserved in the majority of Finno–Ugrian languages and, as it seems, is not to be traced now only in the Obj-Ugrian and the Samoyed languages; cf., e.g., *otin* 'I took', *otit* 'you (sg.) took' in Finnish, *tulin* 'I came', *tulid* 'you (sg.) came' in Estonian, *śanoin* 'I spoke', *śanoit* 'you (sg.) spoke' in Karelian, *toin'* 'I came', *toid'* 'you (sg.) came' in Vepsian, *kuoin* 'I wove', *kuoiD* 'you (sg.) wove' in Izhorian, *tein* 'I did', *teiD* 'you (sg.) did' in Vodjan, *l'iije* 'I was', *l'iijeX* 'you (sg.) were' in Saami, *molin'* 'I went', *molit'* 'you (sg.) went' *kundyn'* 'I caught', *kundyt'* 'you (sg.) caught' in Erzia-Mordovian, *lydym* 'I read', *lydyč* 'you (sg.) read' in Hill Mari, *ucki* 'I looked', *uckid* 'you (sg.) looked',

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11. For details cf. M. Andronov, Lexicostatistic analysis of the chronology of disintegration of Proto–Dravidian, pp. 170–186.

uckiz 'he looked' in Udmurt, *giźi* 'I wrote', *giźin* 'you (sg.) wrote', *giziz* 'he wrote' in Komi-Zyrian, *muni* 'I went', *munin* 'you (sg.) went', *munis* 'he went' in Komi-Permian.[12]

The suffix *-s- is found in the Nenets and Selkoop languages of the Samoyed branch and in the Khanty and Mansi languages of the Obj–Ugrian group of the Finno–Ugrian branch ; cf., e.g., *manzarasadm*' 'I worked', *manzarasan* 'you (sg.) worked' in Nenets, *tisak* 'I got into a boat', *tisanty* 'you (sg.) got into a boat' in Selkoop, *versym* 'I did', *versyn* 'you (sg.) did' in Khanty, *tesum* 'I ate', *tesyn* 'you (sg.) ate', *porgysum* 'I jumped', *porgysyn* 'you (sg.) jumped' in Mansi. In the Mari languages the suffix *-s- (in the form of -ś-) coexists with the suffix *-i- and is met with in one of the types of conjugation; cf., e.g., *vozyśym* 'I wrote', *vozyśyc* 'you (sg.) wrote,' *vozyś* 'he wrote', in Meadow-East Mari, *siryśym* 'I wrote', *siryśyč* 'you (sg.) wrote', *siryś* 'he wrote in Hill Mari. In a relic form the past tense suffix *-s- is traced in the past tense of the negative verb in the Mordovian languages as well as in Leevian and in the dialects of Estonian; cf., e.g., *ezin*' *mol'e* 'I did not go', *ezit*' *mol'e* 'you (sg.) did not go' (with -z- from *-s-) in Erzia-Mordovian, *ma izlu'G* 'I did not read', *sa istlu'G* 'you (sg.) did not read', *ta izlu'G* 'he did not read' (with -z- from *-s-) in Leevian

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12. Cf. Languages of the USSR, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1966 : Boobrikh D., A historical morphology of the Finnish language, Moscow–Leningrad, 1955; p. 180 (commentaries by V. I. Lytkin). As noted by Lytkin, the ancient suffix *-i- is occasionally traced in Hungarian, like in *adèk* (from *àdik*) 'I gave'.

esin tule 'I did not come', *esit tule* 'you (sg.) did not come' in Estonian dialects.[13]

The third suffix of the past tense -t- is of a comparatively new origin and is met with only in Hungarian (cf. *kèrtem* 'I asked', *küldtem* 'I sent', etc.) It is traced to the participial suffix -(t)t (cf. *èrett* 'understood', *mosott* 'washed'), but its ultimate origin remains unclear since "the reconstruction of the original system of participles in the Uralian languages encounters great difficulties".[14] This practically rules out the possibility of comparing this suffix with the Dravidian suffix *-*t*- at the present stage of study. It is remarkable however that in Dravidian too the suffix *-*t*- obviously is of later origin than the other two suffixes and that finite forms of the verb, in which it is used, also are most probably based on participles.[15]

Present (Present-Future) Tense Suffixes. At the present stage of study the question of the original number of non-past tenses in Dravidian has not yet received a definite answer. Nine of these languages-Tamil, Malayalam, Modern Literary Kannada, Kodagu, Tulu, Parji, Gondi, Kurukh and Malto—have separate forms for the present tense and the future. Ten languages—Kota, Toda,Telugu, Kolami, Naiki, Gadaba, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Brahui—use one common present-future tense to express both the present and the future meanings. A present-future tense was used in Old Kannada and is used now in its modern colloquial form. In Tulu,

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13 Cf. Languages of the USSR, Vol. 3; Serebrennikov B.A., Main trends in the development of case and verb systems of the Uralian languages, Moscow, 1964, pp. 105-107.

14 Serebrennikov B., Op. cit., p. 167.

15 Andronov M., Dravidian languages, pp. 69-70.

which possesses both the present and the future tenses, there is also a special form of the present-future tense which serves to express a frequentative shade of meaning. Besides a common form of the present-future tense coexists in Naiki with a separate form for the future tense, and in Gadaba and Konda-with a separate form of the present continuous tense. A separate present continuous tense is found (along with the present and future tenses) in Kurukh.

It is obvious that the present continuous tense in Gadaba, Konda and Kurukh, as well as the present–future frequentative in Tulu, do not belong to the oldest stratum of Dravidian tense forms. This is proved by a relative complicacy of suffixes of these tenses which generally include in their structure suffixes of other tenses (cf., e.g., the present continuous tense suffixes *-ind-*, *-und-* in Gadaba, *-sin-*, *-jin-* in Konda, *-'al(d)-* in Kurukh and the present-future tense suffixes *-d-*, *-ϕ-* in Gadaba, -n- in Konda, the present tense suffixes *-d-*, *–'–*, *–ϕ–* and the future tense suffix *-'-* in Kurukh.) Besides, the synthetic way of expressing aspect meaning is not characteristic of Dravidian languages. As regards Naiki, its future tense suffixes (*–at–*, *–d–*, *–ϕ–*) coincide in form with the present–future tense suffixes in Kolami (*–at–*, *–ϕ–*) and Gadaba (*–d–*, *-ϕ–*), and its present–future tense suffix *–ent–* resembles the present continuous tense suffixes *–ind–*, *–und–* in Gadaba. Finally, the present–future frequentative in Tulu is undoubtedly of late origin and has developed there either on the base of the present tense or on the base of the future.

The study of the Southern group of Dravidian proves that the differentiation of the present and future tenses is a late development in these languages: the Tamil present tense

suffix *-iṉḏ-*, *-iṛ-* is traced to an independent verb,[16] the same is true of the present tense suffixes in Kannada and Malayalam.[17] The present tense suffixes in Kodagu (*-v-*, *-p-*) and Tulu (*-uv-*, *-p-*) closely resemble their respective suffixes of the future (*-v-*, *-p-*, *-φ-* and *-(u) v-*, *-ůmb-*, *-φ-*, respectively). Outside the Southern group the suffixes of these tenses coincide in Malto (*-φ-*) and partly in Kurukh (*-'-*). Finally, parallels to the present tense suffixes of Old Tamil (*-t-*), Gondi (*-t-*) and Kurukh (*-d-*, *-φ-*) are found in the present-future tense of Telugu and languages of the Central group.

From among the four most common suffixes of the present (present-future) tense in Dravidian- *-φ-*, *-k-*, *-t-*, *-v-* (with their phonetic variants) – the latter is limited to the languages of the Southern group and probably has developed there after the separation of the Andhra sub-group, which is clear from the fact of its absence in Telugu. The development of this suffix was most probably connected with the dying out of the suffix *-k-*, which turned in these languages into a stem suffix. A trace of this process can be found, for example, in Old Tamil where the suffix *-v-* is optionally added to the suffix *-k-*, as, e.g., in *aṟixēṉ*, *aṟivēṉ*, or *aṟixuvēṉ* 'I shall know' (with *-x-* from **-k-*). The present tense suffix *-tt-* in Kannada and the present-future tense suffix *-t-* in Telugu are of late origin: in both these cases the suffix *-(t) t-* has historically been a suffix of a verbal participle and–at least as far as the Kannada form is concerned–can ultimately be traced to a suffix of a verbal noun destitute of any tense

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16 Andronov M., Hints regarding the origin of the present tense suffix kiṉṟ in Tamil, TC, vol. 9, 1961, No. 2.

17 Andronov M., Dravidian languages, pp. 78–79.

distinction.[18] As regards the suffix *-t-* found in the first two persons in Old Tamil, as well as in all persons in the Southern dialect of Modern Tamil,[19] it can hardly be associated with the similar suffix *-t-* in the Central group.[20] In any case it seems to be a late innovation, and as its absence in Brahui and Malto, proves, must have appeared at a period when the disintegration of the Proto-Dravidian unity was in full swing.

To sum up, there are only two suffixes of the present (present-future) tense in Dravidian that can be ascribed to the Proto-Dravidian stage. These are **-ϕ-* and **-k-*.

The first suffix is represented in almost all the Dravidian languages—Tamil (both Old and Modern), Malayalam, Kota, Toda, Kodagu, Tulu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh, Malto and Brahui, and has not been retained only in three of them—Kannada, Telugu and Konda. Cf., e.g., Ta. *var-um* 'it will come', Kod. *māṛ-n* 'it will do', Kol. *sī-an* 'he gives, he will give', Pa. *payt-ad* 'it will divide', Kuvi *pāy-i'ī* 'I strike', Mal. *band-in* 'I pull', etc.

The other suffix is retained only in Gondi and is traced in a modified or relic form in the non-past stems in many languages ; cf., e.g., Go. *guhkā* 'I shall seize', *guhkī* 'you (sg.) will seize', *guhkōm* 'we shall seize', *guhkīṭ* 'you will seize', Kur. *es'on* 'I shall break', *es'om* 'we shall break ; Ta. -Ma· *koṛukkum* 'it will give', Ko. *takēn* 'I shall give', Pa. (North. dial.) *payukmen* 'I didvide', etc.

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18 Andronov M., Dravidian languages, pp. 90-91.

19 Andronov M., A grammar of the Tamil language, Moscow, 1966, p. 111 ; Andronov M., Colloquial Tamil and its dialects, Moscow, 1962, p. 31.

20 Against this is the absence of this suffix or its reflexes in other languages of the Southern group.

A similar picture in regard to the non-past tenses is observed in Uralian. Thus, in all Finno-Ugrian languages, except Permian, there is only one common present-future tense. In the Permian languages there are two tenses—present and future. The Samoyed languages also have two tenses—one indefinite tense of the aorist type and the other future. All these forms have the same suffixes *-ϕ- and *-*k*- common to all the Uralian languages.[21]

The zero suffix can be found in such forms as *tulen* 'I come' in Finnish and Estonian, *śanon* 'I speak' in Karelian, *ton* 'I run' in Vepsian, *kuon* 'I weave' in Izhorian, *jōn* 'I drink' in Vodjan, *k'aza(m)* 'I pull' in Saami, *kundan* 'I catch' in Erzia-Mordovian, *suvan* 'I enter' in Moksha-Mordovian *uźam* 'I see' in Meadow-East Mari, *lydam* 'I read' in Hil, Mari, *vārok* 'I wait' in Hungarian, *manzaradm*' 'I work' in Nenets, *cüoeś'ik* 'I shoot' in Selkoop, *dirεź*' 'I live' in Enets.[22]

The suffix *-*k*- has been retained as such in a few languages only and generally can be traced in a relic form· Cf , e.g., *tegum* 'I eat' in Mansi, *manzarańgudm*' 'I shall work' in Nenets, *tińak* 'I get into a boat' in Selkoop, *im leə'ək* 'I am not' (from *leə*- 'to be') in Saami, *ezin' ramak* 'I do not purchase' (from *rama*- 'to purchase') in Mordovian, *ak lyd* 'he does not read' in Hill Mari, *ug uźalo* 'he does not see' in Udmurt, *og giź* 'I do not write' in Komi-Zyrian, *og mun* 'I do not go' in Komi-Permian, *annamme* 'we give' (from **annakme*), *annatte* 'you give' (from **annakte*) in Finnish.[23]

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21 Serebrennikov B., Op. cit., p. 86.

22 Languages of the USSR, vol. 3; Balassa J., The Hungarian language, Moscow, 1951, p. 257.

23 Languages of the USSR, vol. 3; Boobrikh D., Op. cit., pp. 179-180; Serebrennikov B., Op. cit., p. 85.

For the further study of this problem it may be interesting to note that the South-Dravidian (present-) future tense suffix -*v*-, which is traced to the suffix of a participle,[24] has regular parallels in the Finno-Ugrian languages,[25] where it is also traced to a participle, and that the Central-Dravidian suffix-t- should probably be compared with a similar suffix in the Samoyed branch and in the Khanty language.

Suffixes of the Plural Number.—In Dravidian the most common suffix of the plural number is-*k*. This suffix is used in Brahui (cf. *urā* 'house'-*urāk* 'houses'), in Gondi (cf. *mars* 'axe'-*marsk* 'axes') and - in combination with a vowel - in Naiki (cf. *tal* 'head'-*talku* 'heads'), Kui (cf. *koru* 'buffalo'-*korku*' buffaloes') and Kuvi (cf. aya 'woman'-*ayaska* 'women'). In a slightly modified form this suffix is found in the plural number in Kodagu (cf. *aṇṇu* 'elder brother'-*aṇṇaṅga* 'elder brothers'), in Tamil dialects (cf. *poṇṇû* 'women'-*poṇṇuṅga, poṇṇuxa* 'women') and elsewhere.

As a first element of the plural suffix the sufffix-*k* is retained both in the Southern and Central groups of Dravidian (cf. Ta.-Ma.-*kaḷ*, ka.-*gaḷ* (u),*Tu-kuḷu*, Te.-*kulu*, Kol.-Pa. -*kul*, Ga.-*kul*/-*gul*,-*kil*/-*gil*). The second element of these suffixes -ḷ/-*l* can serve as a separate plural suffix in many languages; cf., e.g., Kol. *kayel* 'fish' (pl.), Nk. *kanl* 'eyes',

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24 Andronov M., On the future tense base in Tamil, TC, vol. 9, 1959, No. 3.

25. Its "regular phonetic correspondences are used out side the Baltic group as a suffix of the present tense in the majority of the Finno-Ugrian languages" (Hakulinen L., The structure and development of the Finnish language, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1953, p. 227).

Pa. *cukkel* 'stars', Ga. *kil* 'hands', Te. *pāṭalu* 'songs', Tu. *mējiḷu* 'tables', etc.

In Uralian languages one of the most archaic and common suffixes of the plural number is, as is generally accepted now, the suffix–k; cf., e.g. *lö* 'horse' –*lovak* 'horses', *kėz* 'hand –*kezek* 'hands' in Hungarian, *mi* 'what' (sg.)-*mεĝg* 'what' (pl.) in Saami, *kundyn*' 'I caught'-*kundyn'ek* 'we caught' in Erzia-Mordovian, *me* (from **mek*) 'we', *talomme* (from **talonmek*) 'our houses' (from *talo* 'house') in Finnish, *ty*' deer'–*ty* (pl.) in Nenets *dintə* 'bow'–*dində*' 'bows' in Nganasan, *ade'a* 'white salmon' –*ade*' white salmons, in Enets, etc In the permian languages this–*k* was dropped at the end of words, as in *mynomy* (from **m8n8m8k*) 'we shall go', *mynody* (from **m8n8d8k*) 'you will go' in Udmurt, *munamö* 'we shall go', *munatö* 'you will go' in Komi-Permian, etc. In Southern dialects of Estonian the suffix -*k* is retained in the form of a laryngeal stop.[26]

As regards the plural suffix–*l*-(parallel to –*l*–*ḷ*–*ḻ*–in the Southern and Central groups of Dravidian), it is found in the Eastern dialects of Finnish (cf. *titöllä* 'in a girl's possession'–*tyttölöillä* 'in girls' possession') in Karelian (cf. *mualoida*, the Partitive pl. of *mua* 'earth'), in Izhorian (cf. *kattoloin*, the Genitive pl. of *katto* 'roof'), in Mari (cf. *olyk* 'bow'-*olykla* 'bows') and in Selkoop (cf. *ynty* 'bow'-*yntyl*' ma 'bows').[27]

Another ancient Uralian plural suffix–*t*–is found (sometimes only in the Nominative case) in many languages of the

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26. Languages of the USSR, Vol. 3; Booprikh D., Op, cit., p. 176; Balassa J , Op. cit., p. 279 Hakulinen L., Op. cit., pp. 81-82.

27. Languages of the USSR, Vol. 3; Hakulinen L., Op. cit., p. 299.

Baltic, the Volga, the Obj-Ugrian and the Samoyed branches; cf., e.g., *luu* 'bone'-*luut* 'bones' in Finnish, *kala* 'a fish *kalad* 'fish' (pl.) in Estonian, *hammaś* 'tooth'-*hambahat* 'teeth' in Karelian, *k'irvez* 'axe'-*k'irvehed* 'axes, in Vepsian, *katto* 'roof' -*kaDoD* 'roofs' in Izharian, *katto* 'roof'-*katod* 'roofs' in Vodjan, *jālga* 'foot'- *jālgaD* 'feet' in Leevian, *kudo* 'house'-*kudot* 'houses' in Erzia-Mordovian, *vuty* 'a deer'-*vutet* 'deer' (pl.) in Khanty, *jiv* 'tree'-*jivyt* 'trees' in Mansi, *kanak* 'dog'-*kanat* 'dogs' in Selkoop.[28]

In Dravidian this suffix of the plural number is traced in the first component of the complex plural suffixes in some of the languages of the Central group, like in Pa. *vār* 'root' -*vārtil* 'roots', Ga. *kanīr* 'a tear' *kanīrtil* 'tears', as well as in Pa. *kekol* 'ear' -*kekocil* 'ears' Kol. *gar* 'a hailstone' -*garsil* 'hailstones', *lagam* 'a rein' -*lagamsil* 'reins' etc.[29].

Cases suffixes. —The study of the Proto-Dravidian case system involves great difficulties. In all these languages independent words, postpositions and particles frequently lose their original form and easily turn into case suffixes, like, e.g., the Modern Tamil Ablative ending -*lēndu* / *lērndu* from -*il* + *ē* + *irundu*, or the Accusative ending -*a* / -*ā* (from -*an*(*n*)*u* -*am*) and the Instrumental ending –*i* (from -*inda* –*indam* -*im*) in Kannada. The reconstruction of such suffixes in non-literate languages which have no history is almost

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28 Languages of the USSR, Vol. 3; Hakulinen L., Op. cit., p. 81.

29 The suffix -til is composed of two suffixes, viz. -t- and -il, each of them expressing the plural number (by anology with the suffixes -*kaḷ* / –*kuḷ* / -*kil* from -*k* and -*aḷ* / -*uḷ* / -*il*. In the suffixes –*cil* / -*sil* the change of *-*i*- to -*c*- / –*s*- is due to the ordinary palatalization before -*i*- and spirantization.

impossible. To aggravate the situation, in many languages nouns in the Nominative case are frequently used in the sense of an object, or an attribute, or an adverbial modifier, as if to demonstrate that the formal distinction of case meanings is optional for their system. This makes it extremely difficult to make a conclusive statement regarding the probable number of nominal cases at the period of the Proto-Dravidian unity. It is evident, however, that their number was more than one. Thus, the Proto-Dravidian Dative case suffix **-k* has been retained almost unchanged in Tamil and Malayalam (-kŭ), Kota (*-k*), Toda (*-k* / *-g*), Kodagu (*-kö/gö*), Kannada (*ke*/ *-ge*), Tulu (*-ku*/ *-gu*), Telugu (*-ku-ki*), Parji (-(*u*)g/-(*u*)*ṅ*), Kui and Kuvi (*-ki)*, Kurukh (*-gē*), Malto (-(*i*)*k*) and Brahui (*-ki*). The Proto-Dravidian suffix of the Genitive case **-in* has been preserved only in Tamil-Malayalam (*-i<u>n</u>*), Kota-Toda (*-n*), Naiki (*-n*(*e*)), Parji (-(*i*)*n*), Gadaba (-(*i*)*n*/-(*i*)*ṅ*/*-ne*) and Brahui (*-(n)ā*), which is probably connected with the loss of this case suffix reflexes in some languages, as well as with the persisting use of the Nominative case in the sense of the Genitive, and with the development of new suffixes for this case in a few languages (cf., e.g., *-a*/ *ā* in Kannada and Gondi) Finally, the fourth case which has undoubtedly formed at the Proto-Dravidian stage is the Accusative in **-am*. Reflexes of this suffixes, which often drops either its vowel or its consonant, is traced in the majority of languages; cf. *-am*/ *-ām*/ *-an*(*n*)*u*/ *-a*/ *-ā* in Kannada, *-ey* in Old Tamil, *-e* in Modern Tamil, Malayalam and Brahui, *-n* in Kota, *-nu*/ *-nŭ* in Tulu, *-nu*/ *-ni* in Telugu, -(*u*)*n* in Kolami and Naiki, -(*i*)*n* in Parji and Gadaba, *-un* in Gondi, *-an*/ *-in* in Kurukh, -(*i*)*n* in Malto.

In the comparative grammar of Uralian the problem of the Proto-Uralian case system also is one of the most compli-

cated. However, the latest achievements in this field enable linguists to assert that among the most archaic case forms found in the Proto-Uralian language there were, besides the Nominative, such cases as the Dative (the Uralian counterpart of the Dravidian Dative) in *-*k*, the Genitive in *-n and the Accusative in *-*m*.[30]

If double and triple coincidences in the morphology of Dravidian and Uralian pointed out above are not accidental and, apparently, we have reasons to think so – they must testify to some remote relationship between the two families (as simultaneous borrowing of two or three inflectional suffixes in each case looks improbable). At the same time one has no reason to overestimate the significance of these parallels and think that in the course of time their amount may increase to such an extent that both Dravidian and Uralian will be considered two branches of one linguistic family : the obvious dissimilarity of personal pronouns and numerals (among the latter only the Dravidian **nāl-* 'four' 'several' accidentally resembles the Finno-Ugrian numeral), the fundamental difference of verb endings and many other important distinctions exclude, as I belive, the possibility of a convincing interpretation of the above parallels on this way.

Probably, it will be more fruitful to assume that in this case we deal with relations far older than and fundamentally different from those which are generally understood under relationship of languages within one family. Here it is neces-

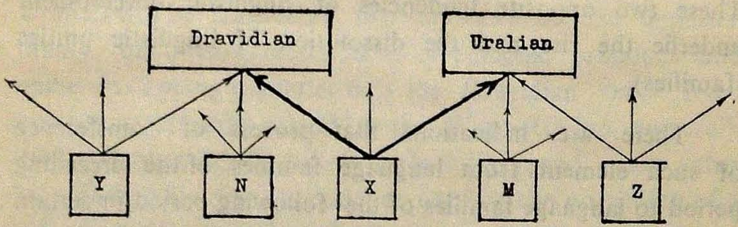
30 Collinder B., Comparative grammar of the Uralie languages, Uppsala, 1960, pp. 282 ff.; Itkonen E., Die Laut- und Formen-struktur der finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache, UAJ, Bd. 34, 1962, No. 3-4, S. 201; Serebrennikov B., Op. cit., pp. 5-9, 19-23.

sary to remember that relationship of languages within one family is not primordial and perpetual: it is historic in its nature - it is formed gradually and gradully can it weaken and disappear. As it is demonstrated above, the number of relationship elements which connect a certain language or a group of languages with a whole family does not remain constant and can vary. Gradually diminishing it can reach such a border-line beyond which this relationship becomes very distant and even ceases to be felt at all. On the contrary, a language or a group of languages can absorb elements originally foreign to them and related to another group of languages. If the number of such elements, now common to the both groups of languages, gradually increases, it can reach such a border-line beyond which these new common elements begin to prevail in these languages and to determine their relationship. These two opposite tendencies of linguistic development underlie the rise and the dissolution of linguistic unities (families).

There are indications that process of transference of such elements from language families of the preceding period to language families of the following period in certain cases may go in such a way that one and the same element can be adopted by different language families.

Something of this kind has obviously taken place in the pre-history of Dravidian and Uralian languages. Remote Dravido-Uralian ties, which are not relationship ties in their usual sense, should be regarded as a vestige of their prehistoric connection, a vestige of that epoch when there were neither Dravidian, nor Finno-Ugrian, nor Samoyed languages, but there were some other, now unknown language families, following whose evolution, diffusion and redistribution there appeared language families of our time.

In other words, the above facts demonstrate that besides ordinary relationship ties of languages within one family and besides various cases of borrowing from one lauguage to another, there exists yet another type of relations between languages and language families. It consists in the fact thai newly forming language families may use as building material for their structure the linguistic substance of preceding unrelated languages or language groups. In the course of this there may be cases of partial employment of one and the same building material by different language families (as Dravidian and Uralian in our instance). In such unrelated languages this may account for common features, identic both in form and in function, which however, are connected neither with relationship, nor with borrowing, nor with accidental coincidence :



The future study of this problem, which allures a linguist into the pre-history of known languages and which has a paramount importance for the discovery of how language unities (families) are formed, develop and disintegrate, will make it clear whether relations of this type are limited to the Dravido-Uralian area, or are universal and underlie also the Dravido-Altaic, the Uralo-Indo-European, the Uralo-Altaic, the Semito-Indo-European and other similar parallels.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ta. — Tamil	Kol. — Kolami
Ma. — Malayalam	Nk. — Naiki
Ko. — Kota	Pa. — Parji
To. — Toda	Ga. — Gadaba
Ka. — Kannada	Go. — Gondi
Kod.— Kodagu	Kon. — Konda
Tu. — Tulu	Kur. — Kurukh
Te. — Telugu	Mal. — Malto
	Br. — Brahui

ACIO — Actes du XXIe Congrès International des Orientalists, Paris, 1948

AL — Acta Linguistica, Copenhagen

BA — Bibliotheca Africana

BRABL — Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona

BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

CCPPH — Communications to the Congress of Pre- & Proto-History, Rome, 1962

CIO — Congrés International des Orientalists, Paris, 1873

CISO — VII Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Onomastiche, Firenze, 1963

ICL — Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists, Oslo, 1958

IIJ — Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague

IL — Indian Linguistics, Poona

JA — Journal Asiatique, Paris

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven

JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London

JSA — Journal de la Socièté des Africanists

L — Lingua, Amsterdam

Lg — Language, Baltimore

LM — Les langues du Monde, Paris, 1952

OC — Proceedings of the 3rd All-India Oriental Conference, 1924

PAPS — Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia

QJMS — Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore

RIO — Revue Internationale d'onomastique

SPV — Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Modras, 1961

TC — Tamil Culture, Madras

TPS — Transactions of the Philological Society, London

UAJ — Uralo-Altaische Jahrbücher, Wiesbaden

ZII — Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

’ denotes a glottal stop.

’̃ denotes a nasalized glottal stop.

ʹ denotes softness of a preceding consonant.

X denotes a voiceless velar fricative sound.

8 denotes an unclear vowel in reconstructed forms.

u̇ denotes a central closed vowel (in Dravidian words).

y denotes a palatal liquid sonant in Dravidian words and a central closed vowel (= the Dravidian *u̇*) in Uralian words.

j denotes a voiced palatal affricate in Dravidian words and a palatal liquid sonant (= the Dravidian y) in Uralian words.

∧ denotes a half-voiced consonant.

á denotes an unrounded back ope vowel.